/30 cont./

865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

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5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

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have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowledge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /85/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, so she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

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683 being put in a ridiculous position, the individual demands a payment that compensates him for what was said.

It is also considered offensive and therefore contrary to the regimen for personal safety if one man hits another without wounding him. There are two aspects to be considered in this act as aggravations: the physical, that is, the blow in itself, and the psychological, for the Guajiro thinks that by being hit in this way he has been reduced to the status of a slave or bond servant, and consequently he has not only been lowered in his standing as a free man but has also been placed on a plane of dependence with respect to the person who hit him. The indemnity must satisfy both offenses.

To tear someone's robe also has a double significance as an aggressive act: the material damage caused, which must be replaced by buying a new one (conduct of a drunken husband); and the psychological damage, as it is like injuring the person himself, since a person is identified with the clothes he wears.

Any damage to the property of a person is an aggressive act and punishable as such, and the indemnity should be greater than the loss, since the excess represents the grievance suffered.

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687 The transgression of the legal norms illustrated in the above 191 aggressive acts against the regimen for stability in La Guajira must be paid for both by a member of the society as well as by an outsider. But there are two things which can only apply to a native individual, an active member of the Guajiro community. These two things are the following.

a) Language. The Indian very much values his native language and tries to preserve it at all cost. His women do not want to learn Spanish and pretend they do not know it when they are questioned. It constitutes in itself a grave offense if one native speaks to another in Spanish instead of his native tongue. The story is told of a Guajiro who spoke to a relative in Spanish during

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689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

689 291 177 b) Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community. This is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by civilizados /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the guayuco once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestinos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the guayuco, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a guayuco, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's guayuco, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

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family, of status, education, etc., and with it are related phenomena as outstanding as the clan. A great portion of customary law applies to married life. The breakdown of traditional marriage has brought as a consequence, as we have affirmed in the pertinent sections, the decline of the institutions that are linked directly or indirectly with it. The greatest changes suffered by Guajiro culture are due to transformations of marriage traditional forms brought about by acculturation in recent times. /239/

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II

But the action of acculturation has not been completely unilateral; that is, it is not only the Guajiro who has felt the influence of mestizo groups, but in his turn he has imposed some of his cultural patterns on them, which, as is logical, are hinged to the three most characteristic aspects of his culture: marriage, magic, and language. For it is certain that foreigners -- understanding by this term those who are not Guajiro -- who enter their country find themselves obliged to learn the Guajiro language in order to carry on business transactions and even to enjoy friendly relations with the natives, otherwise they will likely fail in their intent because, although the native as a general rule is acquainted with the Spanish language and handles it relatively well, he nevertheless refuses to make frequent use of it. It can be observed in the business center of Uribia, the capital of the commissary, that the business establishments most patronized by the Indian are those whose owners use Guajiro for their conversation and business. And the so-called "caciques," who in general terms are no other than Guajiro mestizos or foreigners who have acquired a strong economic position in the country, do not reach their degree of prestige until they completely master the language with its conventional turn of sentences for solemn occasions and the proper use of convincing words, as we stated in the pertinent chapter.

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13
yecuana SSuo

some two or three days, from that time on the girl is considered marriageable. Girls are married early and bachelors practically do not exist.

Future field work will have to disclose whether it is true that a sufficient rule of descent has indeed not been established among the Yahuána, as our informant told us. So far we can only say that the Yahuána have a society with bilateral descent, local exogamy, matrilocal residence, Iroquois cousin terminology, and matri-clans. In general it is rare to find Iroquois cousin terminology with bilateral descent. The matri-clan structure, however, resulting from local exogamy and matrilocal residence, provides a perfectly good functional basis for Iroquois cousin terminology despite the absence of unilineal descent.

THE GOAJIRO KINSHIP SYSTEM

This section is intended to contribute to the study of Goajiro sociology, by giving some notes on the kinship system of this Indian group. Although some contributions, mainly with respect to the social organization of the Goajiro have been published in the past, information on their kinship system is almost completely lacking.

By chance, the author was visited by J. A. Pelaéz, a Goajiro Indian in his thirties, who belongs to the Guororo group of the Venezuelan part of the peninsula "La Goajira." The informant is bilingual, speaking Spanish as a second language to his mother tongue. Although the information acquired through the help of this person has been carefully checked, it may very well be possible that certain mistakes are to be corrected by future research.

1 mother	FyFy/FyFyDe/FyMuDe/MuFy/MuFyDe
2 father	FyFyS/FyMu/FyMuS/MuFyS/MuMu/MuMuS
3 sib	Fy/FyDe/FyS[D]e/FyFyDeDe/FyFyS[D]e/FyMuDe/ FyMuS[D]e/MuS[D]e/MuFyDeDe (ex.)/MuFyS[D]e (ex.)/ FyS[D]e/FyS[D]eDe/FyS[D]eDeDe
4 sib	Mu/FyD/FyS/FyFyDeDe/FyFyS[D]e/FyMuDe/ FyMuS[D]e/MuFyDeDe (ex.)/MuFyS[D]e (ex.)/FyS[D]e/ FyS[D]eDe/FyS[D]eDeDe
5 cousin	MuDe/MuFyS[D]e (ex.)/MuMuDe/MuMuS[D]e
6 subagnate	MuDeS[D] (ex.)/FyS[D]e (ex.)/DeS[D] (ex.)
7 clan	MuDe/MuFyS[D]e (ex.)/MuMuS[D]e/DeS[D]/MuMu
8 nuclide	p.De
9 equipon	e.De/e.S[D] (ex.)

7:Bolinder 7-8 (1920, 1955) 1957
BC13 Goajiro BC13

our caravan up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Manana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Manana was wearing only a guayuco and horse-hand, which is the genuine Goajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Goajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Manana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where maize, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Goajira that never ran dry.

Manana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Goajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Manana of the pearls we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they